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CONSILIO SOCIETATIS INTERNATIONALIS
STUDIIS BYZANTINIS PROVEHENDIS DESTINATAE
EDITUM

VOLUMEN XIII

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CYRILLUS MANGO

SERIES WASHINGTONIENSIS
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INTRODUCTION

THE AUTHOR

The life of Nikephoros has been surveyed by several scholars, most fully by P. J. Alexander.[1] For the present purpose it will be sufficient to recall its main landmarks.

Nikephoros was born at Constantinople in or about 758 in the reign of the iconoclastic emperor Constantine V (741–775). His father, Theodore, belonged to a prominent family and held the post of imperial secretary (*asekretis*); being, however, of an iconophile persuasion, he was denounced to the authorities and exiled to Pontos, probably some time in the 760s. Recalled to the palace, he did not abandon his religious convictions and was once again banished, this time to Nicaea, where he died six years later.

Nikephoros received a normal education (*enkyklios paideia*) and followed his father's footsteps by joining the civil service, also in the capacity of imperial secretary. He probably did so in the reign of Leo IV (775–780), who was nominally, though not aggressively, an iconoclast. He served as the subordinate of the first secretary Tarasios, who, in 784, was elevated to the patriarchal throne. At the Second Nicene Council (787) Nikephoros made a brief appearance to read aloud a Greek translation of the pope's letter addressed to the reigning emperors Constantine VI and Eirene. For some years thereafter Nikephoros seems to have remained at his post. His subsequent retirement to a life of quietude somewhere in the Asiatic suburbs of the capital is not dated exactly, but may have been occasioned by the assumption of supreme power by Eirene and the blinding of Constantine VI in 797. Probably after the overthrow of Eirene in 802 Nikephoros was brought back to Constantinople and made the administrator of the biggest poorhouse (unnamed).

In February 806 Patriarch Tarasios died. In naming his successor Emperor Nikephoros I consulted many prominent churchmen, but found no unanimity of opinion. He decided to confer the appointment on his namesake Nikephoros, though

[1] *Nicephorus.*

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ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΟΥ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΣΥΝΤΟΜΟΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΜΑΥΡΙΚΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ

V185r
dB3

1. *Μετὰ τὴν Μαυρικίου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀναίρεσιν Φωκᾶς, ἐπεὶ ταύτην διειργάσατο, τῆς βασιλείου ἀρχῆς ἐπιλαμβάνεται· οὗ δὴ ἄρξαντος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο κακώσεως Χριστιανοῖς ἤλασε τὰ πράγματα ὡς παρὰ πολλοῖς ᾄδεσθαι ὅτι Πέρσαι μὲν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἐκτὸς κατεπήμαινον, Φωκᾶς δὲ ἔνδον χείρω τούτων ἔπραττε. ταῦτα οὐκ ἀνεκτὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἐγίνετο· διὸ οἱ περὶ τὴν Λιβύην τηνικαῦτα ἡγεμονεύοντες, ἅτε τῷ μεγίστῳ διαστήματι τὸ θαρσεῖν ἔχοντες καὶ ἅμα παρὰ Μαυρικίου τὰ τῆς στρατηγίδος ἀρχῆς ἐγκεχειρισμένοι (δύο δὲ ἤστην ἀδελφώ, Ἡράκλειος καὶ Γρηγόριος), οὗτοι κοινῇ βουλευσάμενοι τοὺς υἱεῖς πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐκπέμπουσιν ἄστυ, ἀλλήλοις συνθέμενοι ὡς τὸν προφθάσαντα τούτων τῆς βασιλείας, εἰ δύναιτο, ἐπιλήψεσθαι. καὶ Ἡράκλειον μὲν τὸν Ἡρακλείου παῖδα πλείστῳ καθοπλίσαντες στόλῳ ἔκ ⟨τε⟩ τῶν Ἄφρων καὶ Μαυρουσίων ἀνδρῶν πληρώσαντες πλοῖ ἐξέπεμπον, Νικήταν δὲ τὸν Γρηγορίου υἱὸν ἱππικῇ στρατιᾷ πολλῇ περιβαλόντες διὰ τῆς ἠπείρου ἀπέστελλον. δεξιᾷ δὲ τύχῃ* dB4 *χρησάμενος Ἡράκλειος καὶ πνεύμασιν ἐπιφορωτάτοις ἀναχθεὶς φθάνει Νικήταν εὐπλοΐσας εἰς Βυζάντιον, καὶ ἤδη τῇ πόλει προσεσχηκὼς ἐπέλαζε. Κρίσπος δέ (τοῦ Φωκᾶ δὲ ἦν οὗτος γαμβρός, ὃς τηνικάδε τὸν τοῦ ὑπάρχου τῆς πόλεως θρόνον διέπειν ἔλαχε, καὶ μεγάλα ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις δυνάμενος), ἐπεὶ ἀπηχθάνετο Φωκᾷ ὡς δὴ περιυβρισμένος ὑπ' ἐκεί-*

1: 2 *διειργάσ*το* ex *διειργάσατο* V² una littera deleta in *διείργαστο* fort. ut mutetur || 11 post *υἱεῖς* V² add. *ἑαυτῶν* || 14 *πλεῖστον . . . στόλον* dB || *τε* addidi ex L || 19 *εὐπλοΐσας* V¹ ex *εὐπλοίας* || 23 *ὑπ' ἐκείνου* vulg. *ἐπ' ἐκ.* V

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should be shorn in the manner of a clergyman and that the bishop should recite the customary ⟨prayers⟩ over the act of tonsure. He then went out to meet the soldiers of Krispos and said to them these exact words: "The Reverend Krispos had you as his assistants until now, but today we ⟨make you⟩ the emperor's own servants." ⟨He ordered⟩ that they should receive the usual allowance and should have first place among the military contingents. They assented with great pleasure and acclaimed the emperor together with the rest of the crowd. After this, he confined Krispos in the monastery of the Chora, as it is called, where he died a year later. Now Herakleios sent out as commanders in the post previously held by Krispos his own brother Theodore, who held the second highest rank after that of emperor (which in the language of courtiers is habitually called *curopalates*), as well as Philippikos, the brother-in-law of Emperor Maurice, who at that time had his head shorn in the manner of a clergyman. Philippikos survived for a time, but then he died and was consigned to burial in the very beautiful and venerable church he had built at Chrysopolis.

3. A short time had gone by when the emperor's wife Eudokia was seized by the illness of epilepsy and died. And while her body was being carried out to burial and, as usual, a great many people gathered for the spectacle, it happened that a girl (she was the servant of one of the citizens) leaned out from an upper floor and spat unguardedly into the air. Her secretion landed on the splendid vestment in which the empress' corpse was enveloped. Whereupon, those taking part in the funeral became incensed: they apprehended the girl and condemned her to death by fire, thus, in the manner of barbarians, attaching to the demise of the empress an unholy burial rite, sacrilegious men that they were. They also searched all around for the mistress of the servant girl so as to inflict on her the same punishment. But she, doubtless sensing the danger, escaped and was never seen again. Such were the events surrounding

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under his arm, immediately turned to ignominious flight and barely escaped to Byzantium. The Avars set out in hot pursuit and reached the plain in front of the City that is called Hebdomon, where they encamped. Spreading out from there as far as the bridge of the river Barbysses, they grievously devastated the settlements that are there and pitilessly slaughtered the Roman people. They also seized the imperial vestments, the theatrical equipment, and all the men who were transporting ⟨those items⟩. After taking a great many captives, they carried them off to their own country: the total number amounted to 270,000 men and women, as was mutually confirmed by some of the prisoners who escaped.

11. Now Herakleios, even though matters of state had come to such a sorry and abnormal pass, did not even take care to put his private affairs in order; instead, he committed an unlawful deed, one that is forbidden by Roman custom, by contracting a marriage with his niece Martina. She was the daughter of his sister Maria; her father was Martinos, who was Maria's husband before Eutropios. ⟨Herakleios⟩ begot two sons by her, the first of whom he called Flavius[8] and the second Theodosios. Justice, however, proclaimed the unlawfulness ⟨of the deed⟩ by causing the elder to have a paralyzed neck which he could not turn in any direction, and depriving the younger of the sense of hearing—indeed, he proved to be deaf. This unseemly marriage was strongly denounced at the chariot races even[9] by the partisans of the Green color, ⟨and those of the opposing color[10]⟩ concurred and cooperated with them. Sergios, the archpriest of Byzantium, also put earnest pressure on him by letter and admonished him to repudiate his connection with this woman, but he excused himself as follows: "What you say is very well. The obligation you owe me as high priest and friend you have already paid. For the rest, the

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[8] *Recte* Fabius, as in L.
[9] Because Herakleios was a supporter of the Greens.
[10] I.e., the Blues.

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νου ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐαρινοῦ μέχρι φθινοπωρινοῦ καιροῦ. | χειμῶνος V195r
δὲ ἐπιγινομένου ὁ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν στόλος διαπεραιωθεὶς ἐν
Κυζίκῳ διεχείμαζε, | καὶ πάλιν ἔαρος ἀρχομένου ἐκεῖθεν ἀντ- L43r
αναχθεὶς ὡσαύτως τοῦ διὰ θαλάσσης πολέμου εἴχετο. ἑπτὰ
οὖν ἔτεσι τοῦ πολέμου διαρκέσαντος τέλος οὐδὲν πλέον ὁ τῶν
Σαρακηνῶν ἤνυσε στόλος, ἀλλὰ πολλούς τε ἄνδρας μαχίμους
ἀποβαλόντες καὶ δεινῶς τραυματισθέντες καὶ χαλεπῶς ἡττη-
μένοι ὑπενόστουν πρὸς τὰ οἰκεῖα καταίροντες. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς
πελάζουσι τοῦ Συλλαίου γενόμενοι ὑπὸ σκληρῶν πνευμάτων
καὶ θαλασσίου κλύδωνος καταληφθέντες πανστρατιᾷ διώ-
λοντο. ὁ δὲ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν βασιλεὺς τὸ τοῦ στόλου ἀκού-
σας δυστύχημα πρέσβεις ἀποστέλλει πρὸς Κωνσταντῖνον ὡς
σπεισόμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τελέσμασιν ἐνιαυσίοις. ὁ δὲ
τούτους δεξάμενος καὶ τὰ δηλωθέντα ἀκηκοὼς συνεκπέμπει
αὐτοῖς Ἰωάννην τὸν πατρίκιον, τὸ ἐπίκλην Πιτζιγαύδιον,
πολυπειρίᾳ καὶ φρονήσει διαφέροντα, ὡς τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ dB33
διαλεχθησόμενον· ὃς πρὸς τὰ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν γενόμενος ἤθη
συμβαίνει τε αὐτοῖς ὅρκοις τὴν εἰρήνην βεβαιωσάμενος ἐπὶ
τριάκοντα ἔτεσιν, ὥστε παρέχεσθαι Ῥωμαίοις ὑπὸ τῶν Σαρα-
κηνῶν ἀνὰ ἔτος ποσότητα χρυσίου τρεῖς χιλιάδας ἄνδρας τε
αἰχμαλώτους | πεντήκοντα καὶ ἵππους πεντήκοντα. ταῦτα L43v
ἀκηκοότες καὶ οἱ πρὸς τὰ ἑσπέρια οἰκοῦντες μέρη, τουτέστιν
ὁ τῶν Ἀβάρων ἡγεμὼν καὶ οἱ ἐπέκεινα ἄρχοντες τῶν πρὸς
δύσιν παρακειμένων ἐθνῶν διὰ πρέσβεων δῶρα τῷ βασιλεῖ
στείλαντες εἰρήνην ἐζήτησαν· ἐφ' οἷς εἴξαντος τοῦ βασιλέως
εἰρήνη τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ γαλήνη ἔν τε τοῖς ἑῴοις ἔν τε τοῖς ἑσπε-
ρίοις ἐβραβεύετο. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἔσχε.

35. Λεκτέον δὲ ἤδη περὶ τῆς τῶν λεγομένων Οὔννων καὶ Βουλγάρων ἀρχῆς καὶ καταστάσεως αὐτῶν. περὶ τὴν Μαιῶτιν λίμνην κατὰ τὸν Κώφινα ποταμὸν καθίσταται ἡ πάλαι καλουμένη μεγάλη Βουλγαρία καὶ οἱ λεγόμενοι Κότραγοι,

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11 *φθεινοπορινοῦ* L ‖ 12 διαπεραιωθεὶς ex διαπεραιωθὲν V² ‖ 13 *ἐρχομένου* V ‖ 17 *ἀποβάλλοντες* L ‖ *καὶ*² om. L ‖ χαλεπῶς V δεινῶς L ‖ 19 Συλλέου L ‖ 19–20 *γενόμενοι . . . καταληφθέντες* V² ex *γενομένου . . . καταληφθέντων* ‖ 23 *πεισόμενος* L ‖ 25 *ἐπίκλιν* VL corr. vulg. ‖ Πιτζιγαύδιον ex Πιτζιγαύα*ον V² ‖ 27 *τὰ Σαρ. ἤθη γενόμενος* L ‖ 30 *ἀνέτους* L ‖ 34 *πρεσβείων* L ‖ 35 *ἐξήτησαν . . . ἤξαντος* L ‖ 37 *οὕτω πῶς ἔσχεν* L

35: 1–2 *Οὐνογουνδούρων Βουλγάρων* propos. V. Beševliev, *REB* 28 (1970) 156 ‖ 2 *ἀρχῆς* V *ἄρχοντας* L ‖ 2–3 Μαιῶτιν ex Μαρσοτιν L¹ ‖ 4 *καλουμένη* V *λεγομένη* L ‖ Κώτραγοι L

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⟨παρὰ⟩ τὸν Ἴστρον ἔθνος τὰ πλησιάζοντα τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς χωρία καταθέον διαφθείρειν ἐπεχείρει, στρατὸν ὁπλίτην ἐπὶ τὴν Θρᾳκῴαν διαβιβάσας χώραν, ἔτι τε καὶ στόλον ὁπλίσας κατὰ τοῦ ἔθνους ὡς ἀμυνόμενος ᾤχετο. οἱ δὲ Βούλγα- dB35 ροι τῶν τε ἱππικῶν καὶ πλοΐμων τὰ πλήθη θεασάμενοι καὶ τῷ αἰφνιδίῳ καὶ ἀνελπίστῳ καταπλαγέντες πρὸς τὰ ἑαυτῶν ὀχυρώματα ἔφυγον, τέτρασιν ἡμέραις ἐκεῖσε ὑπομείναντες· καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μὴ δυνηθέντων αὐτοῖς πολέμῳ συμμῖξαι διὰ τὴν δυσχωρίαν τοῦ τόπου, ἀνελάμβανόν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ προθυμότεροι ἐγίνοντο. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς νόσῳ ποδαλγικῇ συσχεθεὶς καὶ ὀξυπαθήσας ἐπὶ Μεσήμβρειαν τὴν πόλιν ἀπέπλει θεραπείας ἕνεκεν, προστάξας τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τοῖς λαοῖς προσεδρεύειν τῷ ὀχυρώματι καὶ ὅσα πρὸς ἄμυναν τοῦ ἔθνους κατεργάσασθαι. φήμη δέ τις ἐδέδοτο | τὸν βασιλέα φεύγειν L45r μηνύουσα, δι' ἣν θορυβηθέντες οὐδενὸς διώκοντος συντόνως ἔφευγον. οἱ δὲ Βούλγαροι ἐπιδόντες ἐπεδίωκον καρτερῶς, | καὶ ὅσους μὲν τοῦ λαοῦ κατελάμβανον ἀνῄρουν, πλείστους δὲ V196r καὶ ἐτραυμάτιζον. περαιωθέντες δὲ τὸν Ἴστρον ἐπὶ τὴν λεγομένην Βάρναν πλησίον Ὀδύσσου καὶ τοῦ ὑπερκειμένου μεσογαίου, τὸ ὀχυρὸν καὶ ἀσφαλὲς τοῦ τόπου πάντοθεν ἔκ τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἄγαν δυσχωρίας θεασάμενοι ἐνταῦθα σκηνοῦσι. κρατοῦσι δὲ καὶ τῶν [ἐγγιζόντων] παρῳκημένων Σκλαβηνῶν ἐθνῶν, καὶ οὓς μὲν τὰ πρὸς Ἀβάρους πλησιάζοντα φρουρεῖν, οὓς δὲ τὰ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐγγίζοντα τηρεῖν ἐπιτάττουσιν. ἐν τούτοις ὀχυρωθέντων καὶ αὐξηθέντων τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης χωρία τε καὶ πολίσματα καταδῃοῦν ἐπεχείρουν. τῷ βασιλεῖ δὲ ἀνάγκη ἦν ταῦτα ὁρῶντι ἐπὶ τελέσμασι πρὸς αὐτοὺς σπένδεσθαι.

37. Οὕτως τοιγαροῦν εἰρηνευούσης πάντοθεν τῆς Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας ἡ τῶν Μονοθελητῶν δυσσεβὴς αἵρεσις ἐκρα-

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36: 2 *παρὰ* add. dB ‖ *ἔθνος* om. L ‖ 7 *αἰφνηδίω . . . κατὰ πλαγέντες* L ‖ 10 *ἀνελάμβανόν* (ex *ἐνελάμβανόν*) *τε ἑαυτοὺς* L *αὐτοὺς* V ‖ 11 *κατασχεθεὶς* L ‖ 12 *Μεσεμβρίαν* L ‖ 16 *θορυβηθέντες* ex *θορυβέντες* V ‖ *οὐδενὸς διώκοντος*: cf. Le 26.36; Pr 28.1; Mi 2.11 ‖ *συντόμως* VL corr. vulg. ‖ 17 *ἐπειδόντες* L ‖ 18 *ἀνήρουν* ex *ἀρήρουν* ut vid. L ‖ 19 *περαιωθέντ[ων] δὲ τ[οῦ] Ἴστρ[ου]* V *περαιωθέντων τὸν Ἴστρον* L corr. dB ‖ 20 *Βαρνᾶν* V *Βαρύαν* L corr. B ‖ *Ὀδύσσου* L ‖ 23 *ἐγγιζόντων* secl. B ‖ *πανωκημένων* VL *παρακειμένων* Theoph. 359.13 ‖ 24 *Σκλαβηνῶν ἐθνῶν* om. L ‖ 27 *κατὰ δηοῦν* L ‖ 29 *σπένδεται* L

37: 1 *οὕτω* L ‖ 1–2 *τῶν Ῥωμαίων* L ‖ 2 *δυσεβὴς* L

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αὐτῶν ἐφάπτεσθαι ὅπλου διείργοντο, καὶ ἀπρακτούντων οἱ πολέμιοι τὴν πόλιν εἷλον ἀμαχητί.

54. *Ἐκεῖθεν ἄραντες οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ πρὸς τῷ στενῷ τῆς Ἀβύδου καταλαμβάνουσι καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης ἀντιπεραιοῦνται. καὶ πλεῖστα ταύτης ἑλόντες πολίσματα ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλεύουσαν ἀφίκοντο καὶ χάρακα ταύτῃ περιβάλλουσι καὶ τῆς πολιορκίας εἴχοντο, τρισκαιδεκαμηνιαῖον χρόνον ἐν τῇ προσεδρίᾳ διανύσαντες, ἰδέας μηχανημάτων ὡς πλείστας προσενεγκόντες. ἐν τούτῳ καταλαμβάνει καὶ ὁ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν στόλος, οὗ ἡγεῖτο Σολιμὰν ὀνόματι Ἀράβων φωνῇ καλούμενος. ἐν ᾧ δὲ τῶν ὑπὸ τὸ Βυζάντιον πόρων ἀνήγοντο, αἱ κατόπιν ἰοῦσαι ναῦς, οἷάπερ νωτοφυλακοῦσαι καὶ φόρτῳ πολλῷ βεβαρημέναι ἔκ τε στρατιωτῶν πλήθους καὶ ὅπλων, καὶ ἅμα μικροῦ πνεύματος ἀντιπνεύσαντος καὶ τοῦ ῥείθρου εἰς τοὐπίσω ἄγεσθαι βιαζομένου, σχολαιότερον ὑπέπλεον. ταύτας ὁ βασιλεὺς θεασάμενος διήρεσιν ἐπιβὰς καὶ διέκπλους ποιησάμενος πυρὶ κατέφλεξεν, οὔσας τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἴκοσι. | ὁ δὲ* V202r *λοιπὸς ἅπας στόλος τῷ Θρᾳκικῷ προσπλεύσας Βοσπόρῳ τῷ λιμένι τῷ καλουμένῳ Σωσθενίῳ προσορμίζεται καὶ αὐτοῦ διεχείμαζεν. ἐν ᾧ συμβέβηκε χειμῶνα μέγιστον γενέσθαι, ὥστε μηδαμῶς γῆν ὀφθῆναι ἐκ πληθύος τῆς κατενεχθείσης χιόνος ἄχρι εἰς τὰς ἑκατὸν ἡμέρας· ἐξ οὗ πλῆθος οὐκ ὀλίγον ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων καὶ καμήλων καὶ λοιπῶν ζῴων ἀπ-* dB54 *έβαλον. ἔαρος δὲ ἐπιγενομένου ἐπικαταλαμβάνει καὶ ἕτερος τῶν Σαρακηνῶν στόλος πλεῖστος ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, οὗ ἡγεῖτο Σοφιὰμ ὄνομα ἄρχων, φόρτον ἄγων ἐν ταυτῷ σίτου τε πλείστου καὶ ὅπλων. ὀλίγου δὲ διελθόντος χρόνου καὶ ἕτερος ἐφίσταται στόλος ἐκ τῶν περὶ Ἀφρικὴν ἀναχθείς, ὅπλων τε πολλῶν καὶ δαπανημάτων καταγέμων, οὗ ὑπῆρχεν ἡγεμὼν Ἰέζιδος Σαρακηνῶν ὄνομα. οὗτοι, ὥς φασι, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἐσκευασμένου παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις πυρὸς ὑφορώμενοι βλάβην, τὸν [οὖν] Βυζάντιον πόρον ἀπογνόντες τοῖς πρὸς Βιθυνίαν μέρεσι προσέσχον, ὁ μὲν πρὸς τὸν καλούμενον λιμένα Καλοῦ ἀγροῦ, ὁ δὲ πρὸς ταῖς ἀκταῖς τοῦ λεγομένου Σατύρου. οἱ δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς εἰσπλέοντες Αἰγύπτιοι νυκτὸς τοὺς ἐνεστηκότας λέμβους τῶν νηῶν εἰσβάντες πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἧκον καὶ τὸν βασιλέα*

54: 9 ⟨*διὰ*⟩ *τῶν* coni. dB || 12 *αὐτιπνεύσαντος* V corr. vulg. || 17 *αὐτοῦ* vulg. *αὐτῶ* V ⟨*ἐν*⟩ *αὐτῷ* coni. dB || 20 *ὀλίγου* B *ὀλίγων* V || 24 *ὄνομα* V *–τι* superscr. V[2] item **54.28** || 28 *Σαρακηνῶν* ⟨*φωνῇ*⟩ coni. dB || 29 *οὖν* punctis supra et infra positis secl. V[2]

became incapable of taking up weapons and, in the face of their inactivity, the enemy captured the city without resistance.

54. Setting out from there, the Saracens proceeded to the straits of Abydos and crossed over to Thrace. After taking many towns there, they reached the Imperial City. They threw a palisade around it and began the siege, which they pursued for thirteen months ⟨with the help of⟩ many kinds of engines they had brought along. At this point there arrived a Saracen fleet under the command of Soliman (as he was called in the Arab tongue). As they were sailing up the straits next to Byzantium, the ships that were guarding the rear, being heavily laden with a great number of soldiers and arms, met with a light contrary wind and were forced back by the current, thus falling behind. On seeing them, the emperor embarked on biremes and, after breaking the enemy's line, burned twenty of their ships. The remainder of the ⟨Arab⟩ fleet, after sailing up the Thracian Bosporos, put in at the harbor of Sosthenion[40] and wintered there. That winter happened to be very severe and so much snow fell that the ground was made invisible for a hundred days. Consequently, ⟨the Arabs⟩ lost no small number of men, horses, camels, and other animals. When spring had come, another great Saracen fleet arrived from Egypt under the command of a general called Sophiam and brought a large cargo of corn and weapons. A short time thereafter yet another fleet came up from Africa, laden with a mass of arms and provisions: its leader was a Saracen named Iezidos. These fleets, it is said, for fear of being injured by the artificial fire of the Romans, avoided the straits of Byzantium and landed on the Bithynian side, the first at the harbor called Kalos Agros,[41] the second at the shore called Satyros.[42] Now the Egyptian sailors entered at night the skiffs that were on their ships, came to Byzantium, and acclaimed the emperor. Taking courage

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[40] Modern Istinye, halfway up the European side of the Bosporos: Janin, *CP*, 479.

[41] Exact situation unknown; presumably near the mouth of the gulf of Nicomedia (north side). Cf. *Synax.CP*, 777.10 and Janin, *Grands centres*, 94 note 1.

[42] Near modern Bostanci: Janin, *Grands centres*, 42–43.

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ὑγρᾶς οὐσίας ἐκ τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν συμβάσης πήξεως τὴν θέαν, οὐκ ἐν τοῖς γλυκέσιν ὕδασι μόνον, ἀλλά, τὸ δὴ παραδοξότερον, καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἁλμυρᾶς ἰσχῦσαν ποιότητος, καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις μὲν πλείστοις τοῖς ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην τόποις, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ τά τε ὑπερβόρεια καὶ προσάρκτια καταπῆξαν δεινότατα. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο δὲ κατεπυκνοῦτο καὶ διεπήγνυεν ὥστε τὴν ὑπερπόντιόν τοῦ Εὐξείνου | θάλασσαν ἐπὶ σημείοις ἑκατόν που ἀπο- V206^v κρυσταλλωθῆναι κατὰ τὸ πέλαγος, εἶτα καὶ τοὺς ὑπερκειμένους μεγίστους ὅτι μάλιστα καὶ πλείστους ποταμῶν, καὶ ἔτι τὸν ἐπὶ Μεσήμβρειαν καὶ Μήδειαν πόλιν ἐρχόμενον παράκτιον χῶρον τῷ πάγει συναποπετρωθῆναι, διὰ βάθους χωρησάσης τῆς τοιαύτης πήξεως ἄχρι καὶ εἰς τριάκοντα πήχεις· ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀφάτου καταρραγείσης χιόνος εἰς ὕψος διαρθῆναι τὸ κρύος ὑπερανεστηκὸς τῆς ἐπιφανείας μέχρι πηχῶν που ἄλλων εἴκοσι, καί πως συμφυῆναι τῇ ἠπείρῳ τὴν θάλασσαν ὡς μηδὲ διακρῖναι ῥᾳδίως ποτέρα ἑτέρας ἀποκέκριται. οὕτω τε ἅπαν τὸ πρὸς ἄρκτον ἠπειρωθὲν ὕδωρ πεζεύειν κατὰ νώτου συνεχώρει τοῖς βουλομένοις, βάσιμά τε ἦν τὰ ἐκείνῃ ἅπαντα, ὅσα τε ἐν τοῖς τῶν Χαζάρων γῆς μεθορίοις καὶ τοῖς πλησιοχώροις Σκυθικοῖς ἔθνεσι, καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώποις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ dB68 κτήνεσι καὶ ζῴοις ἑτέροις γενόμενα· ἄπλωτον δὲ ἤδη ἐντεῦθεν γενέσθαι τὴν Ποντικὴν τότε θάλασσαν. ἡμέραις δέ τισι διιππευούσαις καὶ ὁ ἄπλετος ἐκεῖνος τοῦ παγέτου ὁλκὸς εἰς διάφορα συρρήγνυται τμήματα, ἅπερ εἰς τοσοῦτον ὕψος ἀνέσχεν ὡς ὄρη δοκεῖν εἶναι ὑπερύψηλα. τούτων ἀπορραγέντα μέρη τινὰ καὶ τῇ βίᾳ τῶν πνευμάτων συνωθούμενα πρός τε Δαφνουσίαν, φρούριον [ὄν] τι τῆς Ποντικῆς μοίρας ἐρυμνότατον τυγχάνον, ἐξοκέλλουσι καὶ ἄχρι τοῦ στομίου τοῦ Εὐξείνου κατέρρουσι· συστραφέντα δὲ πρὸς ἑαυτὰ κατὰ τὸν αὐτόθι στενὸν πόρον, τὸν μεταξὺ πορθμὸν πληρώσαντα τὰς ἑκατέρωθεν ἠπείρους, τήν τε Θρᾴκην καὶ τὴν Ἀσιάτιδα, ἀλλήλαις συνήνωσαν, ὡς ἐξ ἑκατέρας πρὸς θατέραν πεζῇ μᾶλλον ἢ πλοΐ διαπεραιοῦσθαι ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ. ἐκεῖθεν συνωθούμενα ἀνὰ τὴν Προποντίδα μέχρις Ἀβύδου ἐξεχύθησαν,

74: 7 ἴσχυσαν V^1 ἰσχύσασαν V^2 corr. vulg. ‖ πιότης V corr. vulg. ‖ 9 ὑπερβόρια V corr. vulg. ‖ 12–13 το[ὺς] ὑπερκειμένους μεγίστο[υ]ς V ‖ 13 πλείστους ex πλείστων ut vid. V^2 ‖ 14 τὸν . . . ἐρχόμενον B τοῦ . . . ἀρχομένην V ‖ 19 τῆς θαλάσσης V^1 corr. V^2 ‖ 21 ἄρκτον V^2 ἄρκτους V^1 ‖ 22 ἐκείνης V^1 corr. V^2 ‖ 31 φρουρίων ὄντι V φρούριον ὄντι V^2 ὄν secl. dB ‖ 32 ἐξωκέλλουσι V ‖ 34 πόρθμον V ‖ 36 πεζὶ V corr. vulg.

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9–10 *ὑπάρχοντα . . . καθιστάμενον*: This explanatory amplification is not in Theoph., who does, however, have *τὸ τηνικαῦτα λογοθέτην γενικὸν ὑπάρχοντα*. The pleonastic *ὑπάρχοντα*, which seems to have crept in from the source, should perhaps be deleted.

15 *δεδοίκεσαν*: *οὐ κατεδέξαντο* in Theoph. 385.16.

16 *ἐδυσφήμουν* renders *ἀνέσκαψαν*.

19 Adramyttion: On the coast of Asia Minor, opposite Lesbos. The spelling Ἀδραμύντιον, if it is not due to corruption, is peculiar. It cannot be explained as a more classical form, since Adramytt(e)ion (Atramyteion or –tteion) occurs in Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, etc.

21 *πράκτορα*: *ἐκλήπτορα*, Theoph. 385.21.

21 *ἀπράγμονά τινα καὶ ἰδιώτην τυγχάνοντα*: *ἀπράγμονά τε καὶ ἰδιώτην* in Theoph. Cf. Plato, *Rep.* 620c, *βίον ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου ἀπράγμονος*. The precise connotation of *ἀπράγμων* in this context is not immediately clear. It may mean "fond of quiet," "uninvolved in politics," hence a positive characterization (*ἀπραγμοσύνη* being a virtue) or possibly "out of service." The same uncertainty applies to *ἰδιώτης*: is it a judgment ("an ordinary fellow") or does it mean a private citizen? If the latter, Theodosios must have been a retired tax collector. He was later represented as a gentle emperor, *Θεοδόσιος ὁ πραότατος βασιλεύς* in *Epist. ad Theophilum*, PG 95, 357, and his tomb at Ephesus, in the church of St. Philip, was believed to work miracles: Kedr., I, 787–88; *Chr. Altinate*, 109 (*in templo Sancti Phylippi, in antiqua urbe iuxta portum*). For his role in oracular literature see my remarks in *RSBS* 2 (1982), 312–13.

G. V. Sumner, *GRBS* 17 (1978), 291–92 argues that Theodosios was the son of Apsimaros. This theory does not appear entirely convincing.

51. Downfall of Anastasios (715)

Cf. Theoph. 385.24–386.13, A.M. 6207, who is more coherent.

4 *τοῦ Ὀψικίου στρατόν*: *τὸ θέμα τοῦ Ὀψικίου καὶ τοὺς Γοτθογραίκους* in Theoph. 385.28–29. On the latter see Bury, *LRE*, II, 344; Kulakovskij, III, 414ff.

7 *ἐφ' ἑκάστου*: *καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν*, Theoph. 386.1. Nik. fails to explain that the fleet of Anastasios was first stationed at St. Mamas, on the European shore of the Bosporos, and then moved to the Neorion, thus enabling Theodosios to cross over to Thrace.

9 Neorion harbor: on the Golden Horn, near modern Galata bridge. See Janin, *CP*, 235–36, 396–97.

13 Wall of Blachernai: see above, *ad* **13.** 40 and **41.**28.

16 Germanos: ordained on 11 August 715 (Theoph. 384.20). G. V. Sumner, *GRBS* 17 (1976), 290–91, suggests this may have happened on 11 Aug. 714 be-

cause in Aug. 715 Constantinople was under naval blockade, which would have impeded the transfer of Germanos from Kyzikos to the capital. This would not have been necessarily so, since the engagements were taking place in the Bosporos.

52. Arab invasion. Abdication of Theodosios (716–7)

No corresponding passage in Theoph., who has instead (A.M. 6208) a detailed account, clearly due to an eyewitness, of Leo's maneuvers in Asia Minor in the face of the advancing Arabs, with whom he evidently had a prior understanding. Another interesting account in Mich. Syr., II, 484–85. For the Arabic sources see Brooks, *JHS* 19 (1899), 19ff.

3–4 *ἡ τῶν λόγων ἠφανίζετο παίδευσις*: Theoph. 405.12–14 tendentiously connects the decline of education with the iconoclastic measures of Leo III.

11 1,800 ships: same figure in Theoph. 395.25 (under the command of Sulayman).

17 *ὑπεχώρει*: for the abdication cf. also *Vita Stephani iun.*, PG 100, 1084B; *Epist. ad Theophilum*, PG 95, 357C.

17 *ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα*: rounded off (from c. Nov. 715 to March 717).

18 *εἰς ψῆφον ἐληλυθότων*: if there was a ballot, it must have been purely pro forma, since Leo was already holding hostage Theodosios' son and had advanced to Chrysopolis.

21–22 Leo's entrance through the Golden Gate is not mentioned elsewhere. The date was 25 March 717 (Theoph. 412.24–25).

53. Fall of Pergamon (winter 716–7)

Corresponds to Theoph. 390.26–391.2, A.M. 6208, with trivial differences. *Chr. 846*, 177, A.G. 1027 and Mich. Syr., II, 483, state that Sardis and other towns were also captured.

7 *ἐπὶ λέβητος* renders *ἐπὶ κακκάβου*.

9 *χειρίδας* renders *μανίκια*.

10–12 *αἱ γὰρ χεῖρες . . . ἀμαχητί*: probably a rhetorical amplification.

54. Constantinople besieged by the Arabs (717–8)

Corresponds to Theoph. 395.15–396.10, 21–23, 24–397.15, A.M. 6209, with many omissions. The only addition made by Nik. is that the siege lasted thirteen months: yet, according to Theoph. 395.18, 399.6, it started on 15 Aug. and ended on 15 Aug., hence continued for exactly one year.

For the sources and the events see Brooks, *JHS* 19 (1899), 19–31; M. Canard, *Journal asiatique* 208 (1926), 80ff.; R. Guilland, *Etudes byzantines* (Paris, 1959), 109–33; Lilie, 128–32. A homily by the patriarch Germanos on the deliverance of Constantinople is edited by V. Grumel, *REB* 16 (1958), 183–205. The

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